137 241 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded 193 312 226 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

487 The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

114 133 To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on [137] flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scattering of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré, [103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract [136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and [136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The [132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstructions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective labor performed for Kamairahõ. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
●[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

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264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

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252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aó means "I eat," and ayó "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

• 312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The 171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruña, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[K2] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with
[133] a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[322] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this